

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 /067 W  
----- 070916

R 221006Z NOV 76  
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 532  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION BERLIN  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST SECTION 1 OF 2 6892

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, RO, CSCE  
SUBJ: DEMARCHE RE CONGRESSIONAL CSCE COMMISSION  
REF: A) STATE 277519; B) BUCHAREST 6479

1. SUMMARY. IN RESPONSE TO REF A DEMARCHE, GOR PREPARED TO CONSIDER VARIETY OF WAYS TO RESTART DIALOGUE WITH CONGRESS ON CSCE INCLUDING EXCHANGE OF GNA AND CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS, TO INCLUDE ONE OR MORE CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT COMMISSIONERS, WHICH WOULD DISCIGS WIDE RANGE OF PROBLEMS, INCLUDING OF COURSE CSCE. GOR CLEARLY UNHAPPY WITH PRESENT IMPASSE, BUT WILL NOT GIVE UP OPPOSITION TO COMMISSION RPT COMMISSION AS SUCH, WHICH STILL SEEN AS UNACCEPTABLE "CONTROL" MECHANISM. WE BELIEVE COMPROMISE CAN BE FOUND IF COMMISSION MEMBERS PREPARED TO COME HERE AS PART OF CONGRESSIONAL  
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NOT COMMISSION DELEGATION. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR CALLED ON FONMIN MACOVESCU NOVEMBER 19 TO MAKE DEMARCHE REGARDING ROMANIAN REFUSAL TO GREANT VISAS TO CONGRESSIONAL CSCE COMMISSION. HAVING READ DEMARCHE, HE LEFT COPY THEREOF AND MADE OTHER POINTS CONTAINED STATE 277519. AMBASSADOR THEN REFERRED TO NOVEMBER 16 CONVERSATION BETWEEN RABBI SCHINDLER AND PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU DURING WHICH LATTER SEEMED TO SUGGEST THAT WAYS MIGHT BE FOUND TO BRIDGE CURRENT IMPASSE. AMBASSADOR, NOTING THAT HE AND FONMIN HAD CERTAIN DEGREE OF EXPERIENCE IN NWARRIVING AT SUCH FORMULAE, SAID HE HOPED TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES IN THIS REGARD, ALTHOUGH HE COULD NOT COURSE SPEAK FOR MEMBERS OF COMMISSION.

3. FOR BACKGROUND OF ADDRESSES, SCHINDLER HAD TOLD CEAUSESCU OF DISAPPOINTMENT IN U.S. AT ROMANIAN REFUSAL TO RECEIVE COMMISSION MEMBERS AND HAD STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF CONGRESSIONAL ROLE. CEAUSESCU HAD RESPONDED THAT HE WELL AWARE OF SIGNIFICANCE OF U.S. CONGRESS, BUT THAT ROMANIA COULD NOT ACCEPT BEING "INVESTIGATED." AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND ROMANIA'S GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WAS ANOTHER THING AND WOULD BE WELCOME. AMBASSADOR, WHO WAS PRESENT, PRESSED CEAUSESCU AS TO WHETHER MEMBERS OF CSCE COMMISSION WOULD ALSO BE WELCOME IN SUCH A CONTEXT, AND CEAUSESCU REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY.

4. CONTINUING THE CONVERSATION WITH MACOVESCU AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT DIFFICULTY SEEMED TO LIE IN DIVERGENT INTERPRETATIONS REGARDING CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSION'S MANDATE. HE HAD JUST EXPRESSED THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS DOES NOT INVOLVE INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS; HOWEVER, IT CLEAR GOR STILL HOLDS A DIFFERENT INTERPRETATION. GIVEN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST IN CSCE'S SUCCESS, IMPORTANT THING WAS TO CONTINUE AND EVEN EXPAND OPPORTUNITIES  
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FOR DIALOGUE BETWEEN U.S. CONGRESS IN THIS INSTANCE AND GOR. THESE NEED NOT BE LIMITED TO ONLY THOSE MEMBERS OF CONGRESSIONAL CSCE COMMISSION, BUT MIGHT ALSO INVOLVE OTHER INTERESTED MEMBERS.

5. MACOVESCU REPLIED THAT GOR ALWAYS HAD "REALISTICALLY" SUPPORTED U.S. PARTICIPATION IN CSCE. IN FACT, HE RECALLED HOW HE HIMSELF HAD HAD TALKS IN WASHINGTON

IN THE DAYS WHEN THE U.S. HAD NOT EVEN MADE UP ITS  
MIND ABOUT TAKING PART. FACT OF OCCASIONAL DIFFERENCES  
DID NOT ALTER THAT SUPPORT. GOR HAD NO INTENTION  
TO AVOID CONTACTS WITH U.S. CONGRESS. QUITE THE  
CONTRARY, IT WISHED TO EXPAND THEM. PRESENT  
ADIFFICULTY WAS RESULT OF UNUSUAL CONGRESSIONAL ROLE  
WHICH HE UNDERSTOOD AT ONE TIME APPARENTLY HAD NOT EVEN BEEN  
APPARENTLY WHOLE-HEARTEDLY SUPPORTED BY U.S.  
ADMINISTRATION, BUT WHICH HE ACKNOWLEDGED  
ADMINISTRATION NOW DID SUPPORT. THERE SEEMED TO  
BE CONFLICT BETWEEN PRINCIPLES. GOR STOOD READY TO  
DO MUCH, BUT NOT TO ACCEPT "CONTROL." MACOVESCU  
OBSERVED THAT GOR HAD BEEN FORCED TO PUT UP WITH  
CONTROL COMMISSIONS IN LATE 40'S AND 50'S, BUT  
WOULD NEVER DO SO AGAIN. HE FELTTHIS FIXATION ON  
CONTROL WHICH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION  
REFLECTED WAS INDICATIVE OF GREAT POWER MENTALITY  
WHICH UNFORTUNATELY CONTINUES, BUT IS MISTAKEN AND  
NOT EVEN IN OUR INTEREST. FONMIN THEN DIGRESSED ON  
THE MERITS OF POLICY AS CONDUCTED BY ELEPHANTS  
(SUPER-POWERS)

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 /067 W

----- 083824

R 221006Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 533

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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AND GAZELLES (ALL OTHERS, BUT PARTICULARLY ROMANIA) AND URGED MORE U.S. GAZELLE-LIKE FLEXIBILITY. HE FELT U.S. MISTAKE HAD BEEN NOT TO HANDLE MATTER FLEXIBLY IN THIS WAY FROM BEGINNING; INSTEAD "CONTROL" FUNCTION WAS SINGLED OUT. IF ONLY THE COMMISSION HAD ALSO BEEN ENDOWED WITH REAL RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARD U.S. REGARDING CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND NOT JUST WITH CHECKING UP ON OTHERS, SITUATION MIGHT BE DIFFERENT.

6. HAVING RESTATED ROMANIAN VIEWS, MACOVESCU THEN WENT ON TO AGREE WE MUST SEEK WAY OUT OF PRESENT SITUATION. HE SPECULATED THAT U.S. MIGHT SEND 50, EVEN 100-MEMBER CODEL TO ROMANIA TO DISCUSS WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES SUCH AS BILATERAL RELATIONS, VRDDLE EAST, ETC., INCLUDING CSCE. HE MUSED THAT SUCH A CODEL MIGHT SPEND 15 MINUTES ON OTHER SUBJECTS, TWO HOURS ON CSCE. IT MIGHT EVEN INCLUDE MRS. FENWICK. MACOVESCU SAID CODEL COULD BE ASSURED OF CONFIDENTIAL

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EXCELLENT RECEPTION BY GOR AND OPPORTUNITIES TO DISCUSS WHATEVER IT WISHED, NOT JUST WITH GNA MEMBERS BUT OTHERS LIKE HIMSELF. WITH REGARD TO TIMING, MACOVESCU SAID HE FELT IT BEST TO WAIT FOR ANY VISITS UNTIL AFTER THE FIRST OF THE YEAR SO AS TO LET THE DUST SETTLE AND TO AEEP PEOPLE ON EITHER SIDE FROM SAYING THAT ANYONE HAD "GIVEN IN."

7. AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT THERE WAS OUTSTANDING INVITATION FROM SPEAKER ALBERT FOR ROMANIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO VISIT US NEXT YEAR OR MAYBE A GROUP FROM THE GNA'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION COULD COME. PERHAPS WITH PROPER SELECTION OF DEPUTIES ANY SUCH DELEGATION MIGHT ALSO CARRY ON DISCUSSION RELATING TO CSCE. ALTERNATIVELY, PERHAPS A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE WITH EMMBERS FROM SENTATE FOREIGN RELATIONS OR HOUSE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, PLUS SOME FROM THE CSCE COMMISSION MIGHT VISIT ROMANIA. MACOVESCU AGREED THAT A REPRESENTATIVE GNA GROUP COULD BE PUT TOGETHER, BUT EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR DELEGATIONS NOT LIMITED TO SIMVLE COMMITTEE. IN RESPONSE TO MACOVESCU'S CONCERN ABOUT THE PRESS OVERDOING THE CSCE CONTROL ROLE OF ANY CONGRESSIONAL GROUP, AMBASSADOR SAID THAT HE COULD NOT GUARANTEE THAT IF EVEN SINGLE MEMBER OF CSCE COMMISSION WAS INCLUDED IN LARGER GROUP THAT PRESS MIGHT NOT STILL IMPHASIZE OVERSIGHT ASPECT OF SUCH A VISIT. MACOVESCU

SIGHED AND REPLIED HE WELL UNDERSTOOD THIS. IT WAS  
AGREED TO STAY IN TOUCH IN WORKING OUT THE BEST SOLUTIONS.

8. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION LATER NOVEMBER 19, MFA COUN-  
SELOR MITRAN TOLD AMBASSADOR HAVING TO TURN MRS. FENWICK  
DOWN WAS VERY EMBARRASSING FOR STEFAN ANDREI WHO HAD BEEN  
VERY MUCH IMPJZSSED ELEHIS TALK WITH HER IN WASHINGTON.  
IF FORMULA COULD BE FOUND TO GET OUT OF IMPASSE, MITRAN  
SAID HE WAS SURE GOR HOPED MRS. FENWICK COULD BE PART OF  
ANY CONGRESSIONAL GROSM TO COME HERE.

9. COMMENT: IT IS CLEAR, BOTH FROM CEAUSESCU'S REMARKS  
AND FONMIN'S RESPONSE, THAT GOR IS UNCOMFORTABLE WITH  
PRESENT SITUATION, AWARE OF ITS IMPLICATIONA SND DESIROUS  
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OF FINDING SOME ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. WE RELAIZE THAT  
CSCE COMMISSION MEMBERS PREFER TO TRAVEL AS COMMISSIONERSWT  
GIVEN CIRCUMSTANCES, AND FIRMNESS OF ROMANIAN POSITION  
ON COMMISSION, WE BELIEVE UNDUE INSISTENCE ON OUR PART UPON FORM

AS SUCH WOULD RISK LOSING CONTENT OF THIS OPERA-  
TION. WE FEEL CERTAIN THAT SHOULD ONE OR MORE OF  
COMMISSION MEMBERS TRAVEL TO ROMANIA AS CMEMBER OF LARGER  
(AND IT NEED NOT BE VERY LARGE AT ALL) CODEL, GOR WOULD  
GO OUT OF ITS WAY TO PROVIDE ACCESS AND INFORMATION FOR  
GROUP. WE THINK BOTH FORM AND CONTENT COULD BE SATISFIED  
SOMEWHAT

BETTER IF ROMANIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION INVITED FOR 1977  
BY SPEAKER ALBERT TRAVELED  
FIRST TO US SOMETIME RELATIVELY EARLY NEXT YEAR, ALTHOUGH  
WE REALIZE PROBABLE DIFFICULTIES WITH THIS SUGGESTION  
DUE TO ORGANIZATION OF NEW CONGRESS AND ADMINISTRATION.  
IF THAT HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION PRESENTS TOO MANY PROBLEMS  
IN THE FIRST PART OF THE YEAR, WE BELIEVE GOR WOULD  
AGREE TO FORM ANOTHER DELEGATION. WE ASSUME IT IS UNLIKELY THAT  
MCONGRESSIONAL GROUP WOULD TRAVEL MUCH BEFORE THE  
EASTER RECESS. IF THAT IS INCORRECT AND COMMISSION  
MEMBERS WILL BE TRAVELING, THEN IF A FEW OTHER MEMBERS  
OF CONGRESS COULD BE PERSUADED TO TRAVEL AS WELL TO LEND  
THE NECESSARY FIG LEAF, THEY COULD BE RECEIVED HERE PRETTY  
MUCH ANY TIME. IN ANY CASE WE WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF  
DEPARTMENT COULD APPROACH COMMISSION MEMBERS AND STAFF  
AND LET US KNOW THEIR THINKING ON HOW TO PROCEED FROM  
WHERE WE ARE NOW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MEANINGFUL  
DIALOGUE. IF LETTER TO MRS. FENWICK FROM AMBASSADOR  
FOR EXAMPLE WOULD BE HELPFUL, PLEASE ADVISE. RABBI  
SCHINDLER HAS SAID HE WILL SPEAK TO SEN STONE AND  
CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM WHOM HE KNOWS TO URGE SOME FLEXIBILITY  
IN COMMISSION'S PART REGARDING FORM.

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## Message Attributes

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